231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

412 241 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

●436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

436 An elongated, violet bead, with white stripes, inganga, is more valuable: one inganga bead equals one kete of samsam beads. Still more valuable are the thick white amaguru beads; a double necklace of these is valued at 10 kete of samsam beads. In addition to these, there are, especially in the lake region, medium-sized blue beads and reddish and white ones with a lacquer-like sheen, also large spindle-shaped white beads with red circles, and others. All these types, however, do not have a fixed monetary value; [77] like those mentioned above; their exchange value fluctuates. Yellow, green, and black beads are not accepted anywhere.

435 Naturally, the available stock of beads and the law of supply and demand also determine the value of the "monetary" beads. In general, these were the rates of exchange which formerly applied in the interior: 5 bananas = 1 heller, 1 bunch of about 20 bananas = 1 kete, more than 2 double handfuls of flour = 1 kete, 1 handful of salt = 1 kete, 1 pot of beer = 3 kete, 1 iron hoe = 6 kete, 1 pot of honey = 1 ifundo, 1 goat = 3 ifundo, 1 sheep = 4 ifundo, 1 bull = 5 to 10 ingoje, 1 cow = 20 ingoje. At present, one goat costs as much as 3 to 4 rupees in the interior, and all other prices have risen proportionately.

439 435 Cotton material which was formerly strictly banned by the chiefs is now accepted eagerly in the interior. The most popular brand is the ordinary white "amerikani" of which 1 gora of 30 ells [an ell is between 55 and 80 centimeters] is valued at approximately 12 rupees in the interior. The "lesso" or "kanga," printed materials with brown patterns which are popular in Ruanda, are gradually being introduced all over Urundi.

804 The double handful (kumaschi) or, on the markets, a pumpkin shell of equal capacity is the generally accepted dry measure for flour, grain, beans, etc. Larger items, like manioc roots, sweet potatoes, bananas etc., are sold by the 804 piece. There are no domestic weights. The farsalah (35 pounds 177 Brit.) used all over East Africa since Arab times has only been

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

441 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1/1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2/1] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
● [436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[P. 16 (A)]

1/1 [a type of vassal — Analyst]

2/1 [messenger attendant — Analyst]

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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484 purchase the skins of black and white colobus /monkeys/ (inkomo) which
825 are used to make the court outfit (inkindi) so dear to the court pages (intore).

For a long time the Hamites of Ruanda maintained good neigh-
648 borly relations with the more humble kings of the Karagwe and Uswi, with whom they exchanged courtesies.

The same did not apply to Urundi, which forms the southern and southeastern border of Ruanda. In spite of their common origins and language, the two lands were frequently at war. Urundi, however, often served as an asylum for people banished from Ruanda.

439 The Banyarwanda /Banyaruanda/ never stopped trading with the Congo tribes, who supplied them with hoes and rings of vegetable
[301] fiber /23/ called ubutega which are worn by the women around their legs as ornaments (1).

> 1. Whether black women dress sumptuously or niggardly, they all show a great love of ornaments (Maurice Delafosse).

This fiber is taken from a small tree (intunda) which grows only in Masisi territory. Its purchase gives rise to constant comings and goings between that territory and Ruanda. The bark of yet another plant called isiha is used to make rings of lesser quality which are not as much in demand.

436 Butega are looked upon as ornaments and riches, and they are
651 used as currency. The Banyarwanda, lake-shore dwellers and neighbors of Masisi, were assessed in butega as taxpayers. Every year each clan had to supply several thousand to the queen mother, who used them for herself, her /female/ attendants, and her slaves.

301 It is not unusual to meet Batutsi ladies wearing hundreds of
[481] rings around their legs. These ornaments are piled on each other up to the knees, and lend their wearers a slow and very ungraceful gait.

[556] A wealthy woman's wardrobe includes several thousand butega.
[691] Their purchase occasions indebtedness which frequently gives rise to lengthy lawsuits and disputes.

438 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

When the Batutsi buy women, they use cows and beer jugs as units of value. The Bahutu of south Ruands use iron hoes as units of value (spade money), whereas the Bahutu of the north, especially those from Mulera, measure the value of women in cows.

435 Prices. Prices differ greatly throughout the country and are subject to great fluctuations. The value of European goods is rapidly depreciating. In order to give an idea of the relative value of individual objects, I shall list a few prices as expressed in equivalent units:

Small hut	one large goat.
Large jug of beer	one hoe.
Sword (ngota)	one small hoe.
Pot for water or for cooking	1/8 to 1/15 of a hoe.
Hoe	150 to 250 gilded glass beads in the year 1907. Great fluctuation in price according to the fashion.
Mat	1/3 to 1/4 of a hoe.
Day's wage of a man	1/5 of a hoe.
Tobacco leaf	1/250 of a hoe.
One fathom of material (upande Amerikani)	two hoes.
A load of tobacco, 400 to 600 leaves	one upande.

Tobacco from Bugoye and Bushiru is sold in packages of 50 leaves. About ten packages comprise a load. Ordinary kinds of tobacco such as are grown everywhere have no commercial significance.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

cattle alone? and if so, are they marrying into Tusi families, bridging the social gulf? or are they only marrying into other rich Hutu families, adopting the Tusi standard of wealth? And what is the meaning of the mixed payments in cattle and hoes? Are Tusi marrying into Hutu families, and being expected to utilize the Hutu standard as well as their own? or are wealthy Hutu, again, adopting Tusi standards? It would seem to be almost certain that change of some form or another is going on. The records are not helpful, save for one case where payments of the unusual number of three cows are mentioned as being as in respect of members of the Chief's clan: and another, where a woman's father, suing for payment of bride-wealth of a cow, finds that no cow is available and accepts, *faute de mieux*, 11 hoes—this must surely be a Hutu.

There are seven instances where payment in cash is a constituent of the bride-wealth and one where cash alone is involved. This cash element only appears in the years 1928–30, the last of the series, and is exactly paralleled in the suits for recovery of debts, where hoes are the normal subject-matter in the years 1924–6, are being replaced by cash in 1927, and virtually disappear in the later years. In five of the seven cases it is the hoe which has been replaced by cash in the bride-wealth payment, and that this change may be making marriage more of a commercial transaction, even if it was not before, is instanced by the case already cited, where a father was ready to part with his daughter in return for the extinguishment of a debt of 10*s*. and 6 pots of beer. And one would like to know whether the cattle standard has also been attacked in the case where the large amount of 20*s*. appears.

The function of the perishable article, beer, as an element in bride-wealth, does not appear from the records. There is nothing to show whether its appearance in only one-third of the cases reviewed means that it has not been a constituent on other occasions, and if so, why it is in issue sometimes and not at other times.

Bride-wealth in the possession of a woman's family need not necessarily be maintained intact.

Instances: Where a woman's brother has lost a cow paid in bride-wealth and is brought to Court by her husband, the Court makes no order: it finds that the woman is still with her husband, that no grounds for

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

without having been cursed but by being guilty of some major disobedience or lack of respect towards his father, such as beating him. The father could also give a greater share to the sons he preferred, but this had to be justified on grounds other than his personal feelings. It had to appear as a reward for particular devotion or good behaviour. The father could not skip a category of traditionally defined successors and still less could he leave his rights to non-relatives. The persons who felt that they had been wronged could always appeal to the different authorities mentioned.

As may be expected, matters of inheritance were causes of suspicion, rivalries, and disputes among the sons. Each wanted to be favoured by his father. Even if there was no will, an equal division of goods and rights so different in kind was not easy to achieve, particularly in a society without money or any other standard of value.[3]

4. LABOUR

Much labour had to be expended on the soil and on the stock to produce consumer goods. It was, therefore, not sufficient for the producer to possess a certain amount of capital (land, cattle), he had also to control labour. What were his rights over the labour of various individuals?

The labour of wives, unmarried sons, and daughters belonged almost exclusively to the father, head of the rugo. He could make all these dependants work in the rugo fields and he could require his sons to give tribute labour to the political authorities in his stead or to carry out services for his lord.

The different political authorities had rights over the labour of their subjects. These rights were limited either to certain tasks (e.g. to build or to mend the chief's enclosure), or to certain periods of time (e.g. two days each week). The mwami, the supreme political authority, did not usually require more than a chief but in theory all the men of Ruanda belonged to him and he could demand all their labour as well as take their lives.

According to the 'agreement' by which the lord granted the usufruct on certain cows, the client had, in return, to give a not precisely limited number of days of work. These labour rights and duties were inherited with the bare ownership and the usufruct of the cattle.

[3] See also Bourgeois, 1954, pp. 344 ff.